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XXIII.—CÆSAR'S REVENGE

Though three reprints of the anonymous *Cæsar and Pompey*,¹ together with the discussion devoted to it by Parrott,² Mühlfeld,³ and Boas,⁴ seem to represent doubtless quite as much attention as the play really deserves, I venture to add, out of materials long on hand, another note by way of summary and, in one or two places, of addition and correction. Such a review, showing the author's literary method to be one of the closest dependence on his models, may serve to raise a presumption that in his treatment of Cæsar, who resembles Marlowe's Tamburlaine without being a literal copy, he was familiar with plays about Cæsar which are now lost to us; or conscious, at least, of a dramatic tradition which made of Cæsar a boastful conqueror.

The interest of the play, apart from this, lies of course neither in its poetry nor in its dramaturgy, but in its copious draughts from classical sources and especially in its extraordinary sensitiveness, if so amiable a description is in place, to the literature, dramatic and non-dramatic, of the early nineties. As the first known university

¹*The Tragedy of Cæsar's Revenge, Malone Society Reprints* (prepared by F. S. Boas and W. W. Greg), Oxford, 1911. W. Mühlfeld, in *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, XLVII, pp. 132 ff.; XLVIII, pp. 37 ff. M. Mühlfeld, *The Tragedie of Cæsar and Pompey or Cæsar's Revenge. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der englischen Cæsardramen zur Zeit Shakespeares* (Münster diss.). Weimar, 1912.

²*Modern Language Review*, Oct., 1910, pp. 435-44.

³In his dissertation cited above.

⁴*University Drama in the Tudor Age*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 267-78; and the *Malone Society Collections*, I, pp. 290-94, where Mr. Charles Crawford is also quoted.

tragedy in English on a classical theme⁵ and "the first university play in which we can trace deliberate imitation of dramas produced on the professional London stage,"⁶ it has a kind of distinction.

It is generally assumed that the date of the play should be carried considerably back of the date of its entry in the *Stationers' Register*, June 5, 1606,⁷ and of its publication, as one form of the title-page records, in 1607.⁸ By

⁵ Parrott, p. 444.

⁶ Boas, p. 277.

⁷ Arber's *Transcript*, III, p. 140.

⁸ In the British Museum and Bodleian copies (A). The Dyce copy and that of the Duke of Devonshire (B) have no date and lack the statement on the title-page, "Priuatly acted by the Studentes of Trinity Colledge in Oxford." The undated form is "Imprinted by G. E. for Iohn Wright, and are to bee sould at his shop at Christ-church Gate;" the dated copy is "Imprinted for Nathaniel Fosbrooke and Iohn Wright, and are to be sould in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the Helmet." Since the entry in the *Stationers' Register* is to Wright and Fosbrooke jointly, Mühlfeld concludes that the title-page on which both names appear is the earlier form; the Malone Society editors, on the other hand, state that the *verso* of the A title-page, containing the *dramatis personæ*, has been reset, showing it to be a reprint. There is no material difference in the text of the several copies.

A possible imitation noted by Crawford, *Collections*, p. 290, of Daniel's *Rosamond* (1592),

Out from the horror of infernall deepes
My poore afflicted ghost comes here to plain it;

and

Out of the horror of those shady vaultes,

My restles soule comes heere to tell his wronges (ll. 1974-7)

provides a *terminus a quo*, though this is the universal whine of the ghost. A rather elastic *ad quem* is suggested by the apparent fact that though the imitations of the first three books of the *Faerie Queene* are numerous, there is no clear case of borrowing from the last three, published in 1596. Presumably if the author had known these books he would have used them too. The nearest agreement I have noted is between Spenser's description of Ate (*F. Q.*, IV, I, xix-xxii) and that of Discord in our play, particularly ll. 635-9. See further p. 776, note 11.

reason of the archaic character of the verse and the author's knowledge of Marlowe and Kyd and of anonymous plays contemporary with theirs, the dates 1592-96 (Boas) or "die mitte der 90er jahre" (Mühlfeld) seem indicated. All the affinities of the play are with the literature of this period, and I should prefer to account for this by the assumption that the play really belongs there, rather than to suppose with Parrott (p. 444) that it was written by an "elderly don."

The principal sources of the play are obviously Appian's *Civil Wars* and Lucan's *Pharsalia*. Neither was ever far from the author's elbow, and he helps himself with a lavish hand. The former he had in mind when describing the murder of Pompey (ll. 642 ff. Cf. *Bell. Civ.* II, 84), as the name Sempronius indicates;⁹ and the murder of Cæsar (ll. 1694 ff.; *Bell. Civ.*, II, 117), as the mention of Bucolian shows. Antony's funeral oration (ll. 1791 ff.) is translated from the same source (II, 144-6) and the accounts given by Cassius and Brutus of their campaigns in the East (ll. 2152 ff.), from IV, 62 f., 80 f.

It is quite possible that the play draws on other historical sources. Such lines as

Now *Lucius* fals, heare *Drusus* takes his end,
Here lies Hortensius, weltring in his goare, (ll. 2376 f.)

could not have been suggested by Appian's account of Philippi, which mentions only Lucius Cassius, (IV, 135). The names might easily come, however, from Velleius Paterculus, II, lxxi: tum Catonis filius cecidit; eadem

⁹In other sources Septimius. Does *Fortunius* in l. 798 mean that he used the English version (1578) which has Photinus? Usually the eunuch is called *Ποθεινός* (Appian) or Pothinus (Lucan). But the Latin quotation in ll. 1380-2 suggests a Latin translation as the source.

Lucillum Hortensiumque, eminentissimorum civium filios, fortuna abstulit; . . . Drusus Livius, etc.

The following lament of Pompey is clearly based on Plutarch:

Which do remember me what earst I was,
Who brought such troopes of soldiars to the field,
And of so many thousand had command:
My flight a heauy memory doth renew,
Which tels me I was wont to stay and winne. (ll. 67 ff.)

Cf.

. . . ἐν διαλογισμοῖς ὧν οἶους εἰκὸς λαμβάνειν ἄνθρωπον ἔτη τέτταρα καὶ τριάκοντα νικᾶν καὶ κρατεῖν ἀπάντων εἰθισμένον, ἡττητῆς δὲ καὶ φυγῆς τότε πρῶτον ἐν γῆρᾳ λαμβάνοντα πείραν, ἐννοούμενον δὲ ἐξ ὅσων ἀγώνων καὶ πολέμων ἠδξήμενὴν ἀποβαλὼν ὥρᾳ μὲν δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν, [ῆ] πρὸ μικροῦ τοσοῦτοις δπλοῖς καὶ ἵπποις καὶ στόλοις δορυφορούμενος ἀπέρχεται μικρὸς οὕτω γεγωνὸς καὶ συνεσταλμένος, ὥστε λανθάνειν ζητοῦντας τοὺς πολεμίους. Παραμειψάμενος δὲ Λάρισσαν, ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὰ Τέμπη . . . (Pompey, LXXIII)

Tempe and Larissa are mentioned together in ll. 323 ff. of our play:

The flying Pompey to Larissa hastes,
And by Thessalian Temple shapes his course:
Where faire Peneus tumbles vp his waues.

There is nothing of this in Appian's *Civil Wars*; for *Peneus*, cf. *Peneius amnis*, *Phars.*, VIII, 33.

But he does not merely translate; he combines his little pedantries, drawn from a variety of sources. Cassius describing his conquests mentions

Laodicia whose high reared walles,
Faire Lyeas washeth with her siluer waue:
And that braue monument of Perseus fame,
With Tursos vaild to vs her vantage pride.
(ll. 2154 ff.)

It is clear from the context that the author had his eye on *Bell. Civ.*, iv, 63-4; but there is no mention there of the river Lycus or of Perseus in connection with Tarsus.

The first bit of information could have reached him from a variety of sources,¹⁰ among them Appian's *Mithridates*, 20. The latter he probably got from Lucan's *Perseusque Tarsos* (*Phars.* III, 225).

To Lucan his debt is pervasive. He owes him both long rhetorical speeches and countless bits of geography and history. Pompey's lament after Pharsalia:

Was I a youth with Palme and Lawrell girt, (l. 137)

recalls Lucan's *lauriferae . . . iuventae* (*Phars.* VIII, 25), though the speech begins with a reminiscence of Appian. Brutus comforts him in words recalling *Phars.* VII, 717 ff.; VIII, 266 ff. In reply Pompey appropriates one of Lucan's apostrophes to Brutus (cf. ll. 158-62 and *Phars.* VII, 588-96) and comments on his own hard alternative in the words of *Phars.* VII, 710 ff.

Cæsar's description of the carnage at Pharsalia (ll. 255 f.) combines material from *Phars.* VII, 1 f. and 834 f.; his lamentation for Rome (l. 296) echoes *Phars.* VII, 721 f. This Dolabella (ll. 307 f.) catches up with an imitation of *Phars.* VII, 418 f., and the Lord (ll. 314 f.) turns against Pompey one of Lucan's outbursts against Cæsar as the instigator of civil war (*Phars.* VII, 169). Cato's apostrophe to Liberty (ll. 334-53) translates with only slight rearrangements *Phars.* VII, 433-50; but his description of the prodigies (ll. 354-58) is from *Phars.* I, 529 f.; 556 f.; later (ll. 1080-4) he calls on Cannae and Allia to give place to Pharsalia (cf. *Phars.* VII, 407 f.); and he closes with a passage from II, 297 ff. The parting scene between Pompey and Cornelia (ll. 369 ff.) is based on passages in the eighth book; and Cicero's lament for Pompey (ll. 1005-11) combines the

¹⁰ See Dictionaries, s. v.

famous *Caelo tegitur, qui non habet urnam* (vii, 819) with the *situs est, qua terra extrema refuso Pendet in oceano* from viii, 797 ff.

Just as the author combines Lucan with Lucan, he delights to mingle Lucan and Spenser. Cleopatra, inviting Cæsar to the delights of Alexandria, says

Come now faire Prince, and feast thee in our Courts
Where liberall *Cæres*, and *Lieus* fat,
Shall powre their plenty forth and fruitfull store,
The sparkling liquor shall ore-flow his bankes:
And *Meroë* learne to bring forth pleasant wine,
Fruitfull *Arabia*, and the furthest Ind,
Shall spend their treasures of *Spicery*
VVith *Nardus* Coranets wee le guird our heads.

(ll. 907-914)

The opening lines are from *F. Q.* III, i, li, 3-4:

Whiles fruitfull Ceres and Lyæus fatt
Pourd out their plenty, without spight or spare:

but we pass on quickly to *Phars.* x, 163-4:

Indomitum Meroe cogens spumare Falernum.
Accipiunt sertas nardo florente coronas.

Most of the striking imitations from Spenser Mühlfeld has noted: Cleopatra's address to Cæsar (ll. 532-6) and Una's to the Red Cross Knight (*F. Q.* I, viii, xxvii, 3-9), Antony on the restless mind (ll. 1451-4) and *F. Q.* I, v, i, 1-4; Cassius' comparison of the fallen Cæsar with the sacrificial victim (ll. 1902-07) and *F. Q.* III, iv, xvii.¹¹ I add one which he does not mention which helps to settle a point of text. Antony's reference to

Siluer *Stremonia*, whose faire Christall waues,
Once sounded great *Alcides* echoing fame:

¹¹ The figure of the storm-tossed ship in ll. 1234 ff. is almost certainly from *Amoretti*, xxxiv. If so, the play was not written before 1595.

When as he slew that fruitefull headed snake,
Which *Lerna* long-time fostered in her wombe:
(ll. 2114-17)

becomes clearer when referred to Spenser's

renowned snake
Which great Alcides in Stremona slew,
Long fostred in the filth of Lerna lake.
(*F. Q.*, I, vii, xvii, 1-3)

The Malone Society editors (p. xi) suggest that we should read *Strymon*, and doubtless that river was connected in the author's mind with the "Æmathian fieldes," but he gets the form of the name and the quaint mythology from Spenser. The concluding six lines of this speech (ll. 2120-25) are lifted bodily from Vergil, *Georgics*, I, 491 ff.

Another non-dramatic source, to which attention has not been called, is Sidney's *Arcadia*. The opening lines of the play betray the acquaintance:

The earth that's wont to be a Tombe for Men
It's now entomb'd with Carkases of Men. (ll. 6-7)

For, though the idea of the Thracian fields covered with dead was doubtless in the first instance suggested by Lucan, *Phars.* vii, 794 f., the conceit is entirely Sidney's: "The earth it selfe (woont to be a buriall of men) was nowe (as it were) buried with men: so was the face thereof hidden with deade bodies."¹²

The same influence appears again toward the end of the play in Cassius' speech describing the defeat at Philippi:

The horse had now put on the riders wrath,
And with his hooves did strike the trembling earth,
When *Echalarian* soundes then both gin meete:

¹² *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1590) ed. by H. Oscar Sommer, London, 1891, Bk. III, ch. 7, p. 268.

Both like enraged, and now the dust gins rise,
 And Earth doth emulate the Heauens cloudes,
 Then yet beutyous was the face of cruell war:
 And goodly terror it might seeme to be,
 Faire shieldes, gay swords, and goulden crests did shine.
 Their spangled plumes did dance for Iolity,
 As nothing priuy to their Masters feare,
 But quickly rage and cruell *Mars* had staynd,
 This shining glory with a sadder hew,
 A cloud of dartes that darkened Heauens light,
 Horror instead of beauty did succcede.
 And her bright armes with dust and blood were soyl'd.

(ll. 2361-75)

The following selections from the *Arcadia*, Bk. III, are in point:

The verie horses angrie in their maisters anger . . . (p. 268); a great dust arise (which the earth sent vp, as if it would striue to haue cloudes as well as the aire) . . . (p. 265 b); which the Sunne gilding with his beames, it gaue a sight delightfull to any, but to them that were to abide the terrour. (pp. 265 b-6)

For at the first, though it were terrible, yet Terror was deckt so brauelie with rich furniture, guilte swords, shining armours, pleasant pensils, that the eye with delight had scarce leasure to be afraide: But now all vniuersally defiled with dust, bloud, broken armours, mangled bodies, tooke away the maske, and sette foorth Horror in his owne horrible manner. (p. 271)

To the *Arcadia* in part is owing young Cato's dying apostrophe to virtue:

O vertue whome *Phylosophy* extols.
 Thou art no essence but a naked name,
 Bond-slave to Fortune, weake, and of no power.
 To succor them which alwaies honoured thee: (ll. 2338 f.)

O Vertue, where dost thou hide thy selfe? or what hideous thing is this which doth eclips thee? or is it true that thou weart neuer but a vaine name, and no essentiall thing, which hast thus left thy professed seruant, when she had most need of thy louely presence? (Book II, ch. i, p. 98 b.)

But the phrase 'bond-slave to Fortune' shows that he had also in mind the anonymous tragic fragment put in the mouth of Brutus in Dio Cassius's account of Philippi (XLVII, 49),

ὦ τλήμων ἀρετή, λόγος ἄρ' ἦσθ' · ἐγὼ δὲ σε
ὥς ἔργον ἥσκουν · σὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐδούλευες τύχῃ.

It is not surprising that the author of a university play, even in the vernacular, should pilfer the classics; it is more interesting that he should borrow freely from Spenser and Sidney; still more so that he should show close acquaintance with the London stage. The Parnassus plays show much knowledge, but there it is used for critical, chiefly satirical, ends. Our author seems to transcribe and combine with fidelity and satisfaction; and his borrowings extend beyond the mere appropriation of fine tags to suggestions for whole scenes and points of structure.

Boas (pp. 271 ff.) is right in pointing out the affinities between this play and the revenge type of which the *Spanish Tragedy* is the representative, with its ghost and the dismal figure of Revenge (in our play, Discord). Further, the love-sick Antony and his hopeless passion owe much to the love-story of Balthazar; it might be added that the unhistorical scene in which Cornelia stabs herself (ll. 768-94) is perhaps suggested by Isabella's melancholy end (*Sp. Tr.* iv, 2). To Boas's excellent discussion should be added a half-dozen verbal parallels noted by Mühlfeld (pp. lvi f.).

Our author's knowledge of popular drama is not confined to this famous play. The early anonymous tragedy *Locrine*¹³ is strikingly in the vein of our play. It shows

¹³ Printed in 1595. C. F. Tucker Brooke, *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, Oxford, 1898.

a similar fondness for classical decoration and geography. More specifically: Pompey, crushed at Pharsalia, cries

Where may I fly into some desert place,
Some vncouth, vnfrequented craggy rocke,
Where as my name and state was neuer heard . . .
Flie to the holow roote of some steepe rocke,
And in that flinty habitation hide,
Thy wofull face: from face and view of men. (ll. 61 ff.; 76 ff.)

Humber, in like situation, has more self-respect remaining but his desire for solitude is the same:

Where may I finde some desart wilderness,
Where I may breath out curses as I would . . .
Where may I finde some hollow vncoth rocke,
Where I may damne, condemne, and ban by fill.¹⁴
(*Locrine*, III, vi, 1 ff., 7 ff.)

Cæsar's love-making owes something, perhaps, to *Locrine's* musings: cf. particularly, though the conceit is not uncommon:

thy goulden yellow lockes,
Which in their curled knots, my thoughts do hold,
Thoughtes captiud to thy beauties conquering power,
(ll. 520 ff.)

and

The golden tresses of her daintie haire,
Which shine like rubies glittering with the sunne,
Haue so entrapt poore *Locrines* lousesick heart,
That from the same no way it can be wonne.
(*Locrine*, IV, i, 97 ff.)

The figure of the murderer, Sempronius, owes a good deal to the popular stage. In ll. 668 ff. his avarice echoes the very words of the assassin Pedringano in the *Spanish Tragedy* (III, iii, 5 f.), and his threat

There is thy fortune *Pompey* in my fist (l. 701)

recalls Hieronimo's

¹⁴ Cf. *Battle of Alcazar*, v, 1, 75 f.

Bearing his latest fortune in his fist (IV, iii, 177).

His conventional hard-heartedness coupled with grim jesting finds a parallel in the Messenger in *King Leir and his Three Daughters*, to whom murder is no more than the "cracking of a Flea."¹⁵ The conclusion of Sempronius' moralizing

Loe you my maisters, hee that kills but one,
Is straight a Villaine and a murtherer cald,
But they that vse to kill men by the great,
And thousandes slay through their ambition,
They are braue champions, and stout warriors cald,
(II. 754 ff.)

recalls *Gorboduc* (II, i, 152 ff.):

Murders and violent theftes in priuate men
Are hainous crimes and full of foule reproch,
Yet none offence, but deckt with glorious name
Of noble conquestes, in the handes of kinges.¹⁶

Achillas's exclamation

What is he dead, then straight cut off his head (I. 749),

may be an echo of Warwick's, in the *True Tragedie of Richard Duke of York*,¹⁷

I, but he is dead, off with the traitors head.

Steevens noted the parallel between I. 682, "Mens eyes must mil-stones drop, when fooles shed teares" and "Your eyes drop Mill-stones, when Fooles eyes fall Teares," in *Richard III*, I, iii, 370 (Furness, *Variorum*, pp. 115 ff.). Sempronius is, in short, the typical stage

¹⁵ Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, VI, p. 342. Cf. also *Arden of Fevershame*, II, i.

¹⁶ This is, of course, based on the well-known story of Diomedes, the pirate, and Alexander; cf. Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, III, 2363 ff., and *Gesta Romanorum*, CXLVI.

¹⁷ Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, VI, p. 55.

murderer, in which rôle he reappears in the *False One* (especially II, ii, and IV, iii) of Fletcher and Massinger.¹⁸

Here may be cited a case in which reference to old plays helps to clear up a point of text. In Brutus's dying exclamation,

O tis the soule that they stand gaping for,
And endlesse matter for to pray vpon
Renewed still as *Titius* pricked heart, (II. 2521 ff.)

Boas (p. 276) proposes to read *Titans* for *Titius*. The reference, however, is not to Prometheus, but to the giant Tityus. Classical writers make the vulture feed upon his liver, as he lies bound in hell; Elizabethan writers were quite as likely to think of the heart as the seat of the passions, and the change in this instance occurs not uncommonly; as in *Selimus*, 1342 ff.

As *Tityus* in the countrie of the dead,
With restlesse cries doth call vpon high *Ioue*,
The while the vulture tireth on his heart.¹⁹

¹⁸ A parallel between

Caron that vsed but an old rotten boate
Must nowe a nauie rigg for to transport,
The howling soules, vnto the *Stigian* stronde,
(II. 2538 ff.)

and Jonson's *Catiline*, Act I (Everyman's Library ed., p. 98)

The rugged *Charon* fainted
And ask'd a navy, rather than a boat,
To ferry over the sad world that came:

is due to the fact that they both rest on some common source. In Lucan, the ghost of Julia announces to Pompey

Præparat innumeras puppis Acherontis adusti
Portitor.

(*Phars.*, III, 16 f.)

¹⁹ Compare also *Gorboduc*, II, 1, 18; *Tancred and Gismunda*, IV, 1; *The Cuck-Queanes and Cuckolds Errants*, ed. Roxburghe Club, 1824, p. 9.

Mühlfeld hardly does justice to the debt of our play to Marlowe (pp. lviii f.). He notes Collier's parallel between ll. 564 f.

He on his goulden trapped *Palfreys* rides,
That from their nostrels do the morning blow,

and Marlowe's

The horse that guide the golden eye of Heaven,
And blow the morning from their nosterils.
(2 *Tamb.*, II, iv, p. 145) ²⁰

But this, it should be observed, is a commonplace since Vergil:

solis equi lucemque elatis naribus efflant.
(*Aen.* xii, 115)

When Cæsar goes a-wooing it is also in Tamberlaine's high astounding terms:

Not onely *Ægipt* but all *Africa*,
Will I subiect to *Cleopatra's* name.
Thy rule shall stretch from vnknowne *Zanziber*,
Vnto those Sandes where high erected poastes.
Of great *Alcides*, do vp hold his name.
(ll. 510 ff.)

Cf.

I will confute those blind geographers.
(1 *Tamb.*, iv, iv, p. 65)

To gratify the sweet Zenocrate,
Egyptians, Moors, and men of Asia
From Barbary unto the western India,
Shall pay a yearly tribute to thy sire.
(1 *Tamb.*, v, i, p. 85)

I conquered all as far as Zanzibar.
(2 *Tamb.*, v, iii, p. 165)

Hang up your weapons on Alcides' post.
(1 *Tamb.*, v, i, p. 85)

Again, though this perhaps is a common enough conceit,²¹

²⁰ *Christopher Marlowe*, ed. Havelock Ellis, Marmaid Series, vol. i.

²¹ Cf. Greene's *Menaphon*, ed. Grosart, xii, 37.

My *Cynthia*, whose glory neuer waynes,
 Guyding the Tide of mine affections:
 That with the change of thy imperious lookes,
 Dost make my doubtfull ioyes to eb and flowe
 (ll. 569 ff.)

may be compared with

Olympia, pity him, in whom thy looks
 Have greater operation and more force
 Than Cynthia's in the watery wilderness,
 For with thy view my joys are at the full,
 And ebb again as thou departest from me.
 (2 *Tamb.*, iv, iii, p. 143)

And yet again

I will regard no more these murtherous spoyles,
 And bloody triumphs that I lik'd of late:
 But in loues pleasures spend my wanton dayes, . . .
 (ll. 895 ff.)

And I will cast off arms to sit with thee,
 Spending my life in sweet discourse of love.
 (2 *Tamb.*, iv, iii, p. 143)

Cassius and Brutus, though their matter is drawn from Appian, are prompted to recite to the audience the list of their conquests (ll. 2151 ff.) by the example of Usum-casane and Techelles, who report in similar vein to Tamburlaine (2 *Tamb.* i, iii, p. 103). And I suspect young Cato owes something of the manner of his death (ll. 2330 ff.) to that of Cosroe (1 *Tamb.* ii, vii, p. 36).

The description of Cleopatra's palace (ll. 849 ff.) which owes much to Lucan (x, 112 ff.) and to Spenser (*F. Q.* III, i, xxxii),²² closes with a reminiscence of Marlowe; compare particularly

With golden Roofes that glister like the Sunne,
 Shalbe prepar'd to entertain my Loue: (853 f.)

with

²² I am indebted to Mühlfeld for this passage from Spenser.

That roofs of gold and sun-bright palaces
Should have prepared to entertain his grace.

(1 *Tamb.*, iv, ii, p. 58)

These might be added:

That in the wrinkels of thine angry browes,
Wrapst dreadfull vengeance and pale fright-full death.

(ll. 2385 f.)

His lofty brows in folds do figure death.

(1 *Tamb.*, ii, ii, p. 22)²³

With spangled plumes, that daunced in the ayre, (l. 711.)

Their spangled plumes did dance for Iolity, (l. 2369)

And in my helm a triple plume shall spring,
Spangled with diamonds, dancing in the air.

(2 *Tamb.*, iv, iv, p. 149)

Boas does no more than justice in emphasizing the fact that "the whole conception of Cæsar is manifestly inspired by Tamburlaine." I have elsewhere quoted Marlowe in illustration of this point.²⁴ But it should be noted that the apparent imitations of Marlowe do not show as much verbal fidelity to the original as the others that we have examined. Cæsar's proud boast, for example,

I come awayted with attending fame,
Who through her shrill triumph doth my name resound,
And makes proud *Tiber* and *Lygurian Poe*,
(Yet a sad witner of the Sunne-Gods losse,)²⁵
Beare my names glory to the *Ocean* mayne,
Which to the worlds end shall it bound it againe, . . .²⁶

imitates, does not transfer bodily, Marlowe's

Fame hovereth sounding of her golden trump,
That in the adverse poles of that straight line,

²³ Cf. also 1 *Tamb.*, iii, ii, p. 43.

²⁴ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, xxv, 2 (1910), pp. 223-5.

²⁵ He cannot suppress the allusion; a reader of Lucan would know the story of Phaëton: cf. *Phars.*, ii, 409 ff.

²⁶ Ll. 1202 ff. In citing the first line of this speech of Cæsar's (l. 1197) Boas (p. 274) prints "likes" instead of "linkes."

Which measureth the glorious frame of Heaven,
The name of mighty Tamburlaine is spread.

(2 *Tamb.*, III, iv, p. 128)

The same is true of other passages in which Cæsar, like Tamburlaine, dares "by profession be ambitious." Says Cæsar

Ile triumph Monarke-like ore conquering *Rome*, (I. 1483)

and, reciting the list of his triumphs, he concludes:

And now am come to triumph heere in *Rome*,
VVith greater glory then ere *Romaine* did.

(II. 1293-94)

He is

Like to the God of battell, mad with rage,

(I. 1436)

and his rule on earth will be Jove-like:

Of *Ioue* in Heauen, shall ruled bee the skie,
The Earth of *Cæsar*, with like Maiesty. (II. 1510 ff.)

This is clearly Tamburlaine or nothing.²⁷ But it is not copied from Marlowe with that verbal closeness which, as the long list of parallels is designed to show, is the habitual literary method of the author. It is not impossible that he is copying not *Tamburlaine* but some Cæsar play now lost to us in which the titular hero spoke in the "'Ercles vein," an echo of which is still heard in Shakespeare. At least one line,

And *Cæsar* ruling ouer all the world, (I. 1226)

echoes not only Marlowe's

And we will triumph over all the world

(1 *Tamb.*, I, ii, p. 17)

but likewise the

²⁷ Cf. for example, 1 *Tamb.* II, iii (p. 26), IV, ii (p. 57), V, i (p. 83); 2 *Tamb.*, IV, iv (p. 149).

Cæsar doth triumph over all the world

of Kyd's *Cornelia* (l. 1341), which comes to him from Garnier and the Senecan tradition of Cæsar. The presentation of all these parallel passages will justify itself if it gains for *Cæsar's Revenge* some authority as a competent witness for the popular, not merely the academic, treatment of Cæsar on the Elizabethan stage.

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